

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 227838

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S E C R E T STATE 227838

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, GR, US

SUBJECT: US-GREECE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS: HELLENIKON
NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS

1. IN PREPARING FOR THE FORTHCOMING ROUND OF SUBGROUP
DISCUSSIONS, THE WASHINGTON COMMUNITY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT
OPINIONS FROM THE FIELD, HAS REVIEWED THE HELLENIKON ISSUE
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 227838

IN THE CONTEXT OF US MILITARY REQUIREMENTS, GREEK POLITICAL
CONCERNS, OVERALL US-GREECE RELATIONS, THE UNDECIDED FUTURE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREECE AND NATO, AND THE TENUOUS US
POSITION ELSEWHERE IN THE SOUTHERN REGION.

2. DURING THE LAST SUBGROUP MEETING IN JULY, THE GREEK SPOKESMAN STATED THAT HE WOULD SEEK TO DETERMINE IF THERE WAS ANY FLEXIBILITY IN THE GREEK POSITION THAT THE FUTURE US PRESENCE AT HELLENIKON BE LIMITED TO ABOUT 450 PERSONS. SINCE THEN, WE HAVE RECEIVED NO HINT OF SUCH FLEXIBILITY. IN FACT, REITERATION OF THE GREEK POSITION BY CALORGERAS TO DCM STEARNS AND BY THE GREEK AIR ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON TO THE OSD/ISA REPRESENTATIVE SUGGESTS CONTINUED GREEK INTRANSIGENCE ON THIS ISSUE. NO DOUBT THE GOG WOULD STILL PREFER A TOTAL US WITHDRAWAL FROM HELLENIKON TO ELIMINATE WHAT IT CONTINUES TO PERCEIVE TO BE A DOMESTIC POLITICAL LIABILITY ASSOCIATED WITH A HIGHLY VISIBLE FOREIGN MILITARY

INSTALLATION IN THE POPULATED ATHENS AREA.

3. WE ARE NOT WHOLLY UNSYMPATHETIC WITH THIS ATTITUDE, CONSIDERING INTERNAL PRESSURES AGAINST THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REGIME AND VULNERABILITY OF THE US AIRBASE TO CRITICISM BY ANTI-AMERICAN ELEMENTS. WE CAN ALSO SEE SOME LONG RANGE ADVANTAGES TO THE GREEK SUGGESTION THAT WE MOVE OUR ACTIVITIES TO A LESS VISIBLE LOCATION ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY. THE DISADVANTAGES OF MAINTAINING A MAJOR US MILITARY PRESENCE AT A BASE SO CLOSE TO THE CENTER OF A BUSY AND EXPANDING CAPITAL ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CLEAR. ATHENS IS GROWING IN THE DIRECTION OF THE BASE, MAKING THE BASE AREA MORE VALUABLE FOR OTHER PURPOSES, AND MORE EXPOSED. GIVEN THE CLIMATE OF OPINION IN GREECE, SUCH EXPOSURE IS A NEGATIVE FACTOR IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH GREECE. EVEN IF OUR RELATIONS WITH GREECE HAD NOT BEEN STRAINED BY THE EVENTS OF JULY/AUGUST 1974 AND BY THE GREEK BLAME OF THE US FOR THE 7 YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP, IT WAS ONLY A QUESTION OF TIME BEFORE THE ELLINIKON BASE WOULD HAVE BECOME AN ISSUE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE BASE IS NOW SIMPLY IN THE WRONG PLACE. THEREFORE, THERE MAY BE ADVANTAGES IN RELOCATING ELLINIKON FUNCTIONS TO PLACES IN GREECE WHERE THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE ABLE TO RE-
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 227838

MAIN LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO POLITICAL PRESSURES FOR THE NEXT FIVE TO TEN YEARS. THE PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT AS FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO THE US AS ANY GOVERNMENT GREECE IS LIKELY TO HAVE OVER THAT PERIOD, AND ANOTHER GOVERNMENT MIGHT WELL BE LESS INCLINED TO ALLOW US TO RELOCATE US FACILITIES IN GREECE.

4. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS CONSTITUTE REVISED HELLENIKON NEGOTIATING POSITIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS. WHERE IN CONFLICT, THEY SUPERSEDE THOSE DATED WASHINGTON, 23 JUNE 1975.

5. WHEN THE SUBGROUP DISCUSSIONS BEGIN, THE US SIDE SHOULD DEFINITELY DETERMINE IF THE GREEK SIDE HAS OBTAINED ANY FLEXIBILITY IN ITS POSITION ON THE NUMBER OF

US PERSONNEL. IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO SUGGEST THAT WHILE ALL ESSENTIAL ACTIVITIES COULD NOT CONTINUE AT THE MAN-POWER LEVEL PROPOSED BY THE GREEKS, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS PROVIDED THE GREEK POSITION IS SUBJECT TO UPWARD REVISION. THE GREEK RESPONSE WILL DICTATE ONE OF TWO COURSES OF ACTION OUTLINED BELOW.

6. WE HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE MOST RECENT GREEK ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE INTENT TO RELOCATE THE ATHENS INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. THIS EVENTUALITY WILL OF COURSE BE INCLUDED IN OUR OWN LONG RANGE PLANNING. HOWEVER, OUR IMMEDIATE

REACTION IS TEMPERED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SIMILAR PROPOSALS SINCE AT LEAST 1964 HAVE NEVER PROCEEDED BEYOND THE PLANNING STAGE. THE GREEKS WILL CERTAINLY USE THIS RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT TO SUPPORT THEIR POSITION ON THE US DRAWDOWN AT HELLENIKON. THEREFORE, EARLY IN SUBGROUP DISCUSSIONS, WE SHOULD SEEK CLARIFICATION ON THE PROPOSED TIMING OF SUCH A MOVE AND REPORTS THAT MILITARY ACTIVITIES WOULD BE THE FIRST TO MOVE.

7. IF THE GREEKS INDICATE SOME DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY, YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO PROPOSE INCREMENTAL REDUCTIONS DOWN TO A LEVEL OF 850 WITHOUT FURTHER WASHINGTON APPROVAL. IN DOING SO, YOU SHOULD SEEK AGREEMENT TO THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 227838

-- A. THE US PERSONNEL LEVEL AT HELLENIKON WILL BE PERMITTED TO TEMPORARILY SURGE ABOVE ANY AGREED CEILING TO SATISFY MISSION REQUIREMENTS AND ACCOMMODATE PERSONNEL REPLACEMENT OVERLAPS.

-- B. THE US WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO RELOCATE CERTAIN ACTIVITIES, POSSIBLY INCLUDING THE RECONNAISSANCE GROUND PROCESSING UNIT, TO LEASED SPACE ELSEWHERE IN THE ATHENS AREA. GOG ASSISTANCE WOULD BE NEEDED TO OBTAIN ACCESS TO APPROPRIATE FACILITIES AND TO ESTABLISH NECESSARY COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN LEASED LOCATIONS AND HELLENIKON.

-- C. THE US WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO RELOCATE CERTAIN SUPPORT ACTIVITIES IN TANAGRA OR POSSIBLY TO OTHER GREEK MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN THE ATHENS AREA IN CASES WHERE THIS MAY PROVE TO BE MORE PRACTICAL THAN LEASED LOCATIONS IN ATHENS.

-- D. UNDER MOBILIZATION IN A COMMON DEFENSE EFFORT, GREEK PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY THE US AT HELLENIKON WILL BE MOBILIZED IN PLACE AND WILL CONTINUE REGULAR DUTIES.

-- E. ALL LAWFUL MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO INSURE CONTINUED FUNCTIONING OF US ACTIVITIES AT HELLENIKON UNDER CONDITIONS OF A LABOR STRIKE.

-- F. A MINIMUM OF 12 MONTHS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO ACCOMPLISH THE DRAWDOWN.

8. WE HAVE NOT PREPARED AND DO NOT INTEND TO PROVIDE THE GREEKS WITH FURTHER BREAKOUTS DURING THIS ROUND ON HOW WE WOULD ACCOMPLISH REDUCTIONS AT VARIOUS MANPOWER LEVELS. WE WOULD ALSO WISH TO AVOID DETAILED DISCUSSIONS ON THESE SPECIFICS UNTIL AFTER AN AGREEMENT ON A MANPOWER LEVEL IS

REACHED. SHOULD THE GREEKS DESIRE AMPLIFICATION, WE SHOULD FRANKLY STATE THAT ALLOTMENT OF AUTHORIZED SPACES AT HELLENIKON TO DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS WILL DEPEND ON REQUIREMENTS WHICH EXIST AT THE TIME AN AGREEMENT IS FORMALIZED, INCLUDING CHANGES WHICH MAY BE GENERATED BY THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND NATO. IN THE COURSE OF
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 227838

GENERALIZED DISCUSSIONS, HOWEVER, THE GREEKS SHOULD BE INFORMED THAT RECONNAISSANCE AIR OPERATIONS (RC-135 AND EP-3 AIRCRAFT) WOULD NOT BE RELOCATED IN REACHING THE 850 LEVEL BUT THAT RELOCATION OF THE RECONNAISSANCE GROUND PROCESSING UNIT IS A POSSIBILITY. THIS LATER CASE WOULD REQUIRE OCCUPANCY OF AN OFF-BASE BUILDING WITH STRICT ENTRY CONTROL TO AN INTERNAL SECURE AREA BY US PERSONNEL. GREEK MILITARY GUARDS, CONTRACT GUARDS, OR CIVILIAN POLICE WOULD BE NEEDED TO CONTROL BUILDING ACCESS AND PROVIDE PROTECTION AGAINST HOSTILE ACTS.

9. IF YOU DETERMINE FROM INITIAL DISCUSSIONS THAT THE GREEKS ARE NOT FLEXIBLE IN THEIR MANPOWER POSITION OR, IF THEY SHOW FLEXIBILITY BUT WILL NOT ACCEPT A LEVEL OF 850 OR ABOVE, YOU SHOULD CEASE FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT INCREMENTAL BARGAINING. MOVE INSTEAD TO CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSIONS ON THE RELOCATION OF ALL RECONNAISSANCE ACTIVITIES FROM HELLENIKON WITH THE INFERENCE THAT, IF THESE ACTIVITIES WERE MOVED, THE US MIGHT WISH TO VACATE HELLENIKON ENTIRELY AND, OVER THE LONG TERM, MOVE ALL OTHER ACTIVITIES TO A NEW SINGLE LOCATION. IN THESE DISCUSSIONS, YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED AT THIS JUNCTURE TO MAKE SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS ON RELOCATION.

10. THE FOLLOWING POINTS SHOULD BE USED AS A BASIS TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBLE RELOCATION OF ACTIVITIES NOW AT HELLENIKON.

-- A. BASED ON PRELIMINARY INFORMATION, RELOCATION OF RECONNAISSANCE AIRBORNE AND GROUND PROCESSING IS FEASIBLE.

-- B. THE MOST SUITABLE RELOCATION SITES APPEAR TO BE TANAGRA AND ANDRAVIDA. HOWEVER, WE UNDERSTAND THAT WE MAY CONSIDER OTHER BASES AND WE WOULD WISH TO COMPLETELY EVALUATE ALL POSSIBILITIES. IN THIS EFFORT WE WOULD NEED DETAILED AIRFIELD DATA FROM HELLENIC AUTHORITIES AND ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING AND PERFORMING COMPREHENSIVE ON-SITE SURVEYS.

-- C. RELOCATION WOULD REQUIRE AT LEAST 800-1000 US PERSONNEL AT THE NEW SITE. THE EXACT NUMBER, WHICH WOULD
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 227838

INCLUDE SOME SUPPORT PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED BY THE SUPPORT ORGANIZATION AT HELLENIKON, WOULD DEPEND ON THE SPECIFIC

SITE SELECTED. (FYI: THE STATED FIGURE IS FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY. AN EXACT MANPOWER PROGRAM WOULD BE DETERMINED BY FOLLOW-ON STUDY IF A DECISION IS MADE TO RELOCATE.)

-- D. SUFFICIENT REAL ESTATE AT THE BASE SELECTED WOULD BE NEEDED TO ACCOMMODATE ASSIGNED AIRCRAFT AND FOR CONSTRUCTION OF WORK AREAS, QUARTERS, AND OTHER ESSENTIAL FACILITIES. PERSONNEL AND DEPENDENT SUPPORT ACTIVITIES WOULD HAVE TO BE ESTABLISHED.

-- E. IF THE RECONNAISSANCE ACTIVITY WAS RELOCATED, ABOUT 650 PERSONNEL WOULD STILL BE NEEDED AT HELLENIKON TO SUPPORT NATO ACTIVITIES IN GREECE, RESULTING IN DUPLICATIONS AND INEFFICIENCIES INHERENT IN A SPLIT OPERATION. (FYI; THE 650 FIGURE IS AN INITIAL POSITION WHICH MAY BE NEGOTIATED DOWNWARD SUBJECT TO WASHINGTON APPROVAL.) THIS PROBLEM COULD BE ELIMINATED BY COMPLETELY VACATING HELLENIKON AND RELOCATING ALL US ACTIVITIES TO A SINGLE ALTERNATE SITE. SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD REQUIRE ABOUT 1300 US PERSONNEL FOR ALL MISSIONS ON THE BASE.

-- F. RELOCATION EXPENDITURES COULD BE EXPECTED TO BE OF A MAGNITUDE THAT WOULD IMPACT SIGNIFICANTLY ON THE US DEFENSE BUDGET AND REQUIRE A PRESIDENTIAL DECISION AND CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION WOULD REQUIRE ASSURANCES THAT UNINTERRUPTED OPERATIONS COULD CONTINUE AT THE NEW LOCATION FOR A PERIOD LONG ENOUGH, TEN YEARS FOR EXAMPLE, TO AMORTIZE THE CAPITAL INVESTMENT. (FYI: PRELIMINARY ESTIMATES INDICATE RELOCATION COULD COST AS MUCH AS \$65 MILLION, DEPENDING ON THE SITE AND FACILITIES REQUIRED. FINAL DETERMINATION WOULD BE BASED ON FOLLOW-ON STUDIES IF A DECISION IS MADE TO RELOCATE.)

-- G. BECAUSE OF FUNDING PROCEDURES AND CONSTRUCTION REQUIREMENTS, RELOCATION OF THE RECONNAISSANCE ACTIVITY OR ALL ACTIVITIES TO A NEW SITE WOULD REQUIRE UP TO THREE

YEARS.

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 227838

11. AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO OBTAIN SPECIFIC ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

-- A. WHAT AIRFIELDS MAY THE US CONSIDER AS AN ALTERNATE LOCATION FOR RECONNAISSANCE ACTIVITIES NOW AT HELLENIKON?

-- B. COULD ALL ACTIVITIES NOW AT HELLENIKON BE RELOCATED TO THIS SAME AIRFIELD?

-- C. WOULD THERE OR WOULD THERE NOT BE A CEILING ON THE NUMBER OF US PERSONNEL ASSIGNED AT THE NEW LOCATION?

-- D. WOULD THE US BE GUARANTEED UNINTERRUPTED OPERATIONS AT THE NEW LOCATION FOR A PERIOD OF AT LEAST TEN YEARS?

-- E. WHAT, IF ANY, RESTRICTIONS WOULD BE PLACED ON WHAT FACILITIES OR ACTIVITIES THE US COULD ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN AT THE NEW LOCATION?

12. WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN A DELIBERATE DELAY IN PROGRESS TOWARDS RESOLUTION OF THE HELLENIKON ISSUE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE DO NOT WISH TO PRESS THE GREEKS INTO A PACE FASTER THAN THEY DESIRE TO PROCEED. HOPEFULLY, THESE FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS WILL PROVIDE US WITH AN INSIGHT INTO THE NEGOTIATING TEMPO THE GREEKS WISH TO MAINTAIN. IMPORTANTLY, WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO TIMING IN THE SENSE THAT WE WOULD NOT WISH TO LOSE ANY OPPORTUNITY TO STRIKE A FAVORABLE BARGAIN WHICH MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE IN THE FUTURE BECAUSE OF FACTOR OVER WHICH WE HAVE NO CONTROL.

13. ON-SITE AIRFIELD SURVEYS. WHILE THE GREEKS MAY BE INFORMED THAT SITE SURVEYS WOULD PROCEED PROMPTLY, SPECIFIC DATES SHOULD NOT BE ESTABLISHED DURING SUBGROUP DISCUSSIONS. AFTER GREEK LIMITATIONS ON LOCATIONS ARE KNOWN, WE WILL REVIEW AVAILABLE DATA ON EACH POSSIBILITY AND DETERMINE POTENTIAL RELOCATION SITES. USAIRA COULD ASSIST BY COMPILING A LIST OF IR NUMBERS OF BASIC AIRFIELD INFORMATION REPORTS AND UPDATES FOR THOSE MAJOR AIRFIELDS NOT RESTRICTED BY THE GREEKS. THIS WILL
SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 227838

ASSIST OUR PROCUREMENT OF DATA INCLUDING PHOTOGRAPHY WHICH IS AVAILABLE IN WASHINGTON. AFTER THIS PRELIMINARY PROCESS IS COMPLETE, WE WILL PREPARE SURVEY GUIDELINES, DESIGNATE A SURVEY TEAM, AND DEVELOP A VISITATION PROGRAM FOR YOUR COORDINATION WITH APPROPRIATE GREEK AUTHORITIES.

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